

SCOTLAND'S STORY

25

Scotland under
the thumb of
Oliver Cromwell

Charles restored,
to remote control

Scottish soldiers
of fortune, who
were in demand

The Covenanters'
fighting females

Who's afraid of
the big mystery
mountain man?



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1629

Scots erect a fort to guard their first colony in New Scotland, North America.



1632

Scots soldiers serve as officers in the Swedish army at the Battle of Lutzen.



1649

Oliver Cromwell establishes English Commonwealth and begins brutal conquest of Ireland.



1651

Charles II flees as Cromwell's conquest of Scotland begins.



1654

General George Monck puts down the 'Glencairn' rising, the only military threat to Cromwellian rule in Scotland.



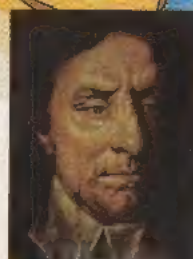
1660

Charles II returns from the Spanish Netherlands and is restored to power.



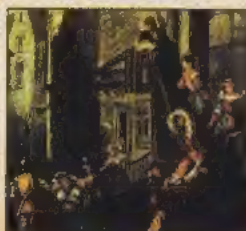
1658

Cromwell dies, resulting in the collapse of the Commonwealth.



1666

The Pentland Rising: radical Covenanters from the South-West reject state control. It is put down by General Tam Dalrymple of the Binns.



1662

Restoration parliament reinstates bishops and patronage. Rebel ministers hold illegal meetings, known as conventicles.



**In Part 26:
The Killing Times**

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IRELAND

North
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ENGLAND

ATLANTIC
OCEAN

NORTH
SEA



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COVER: Scots soldiers were renowned throughout Europe. In this early-19th century drawing, a Frenchwoman tries to see what was worn under the kilt.

Republic and Restoration

Before the 1650s, the Scots had long prided themselves in the belief that theirs had been a never conquered nation. The most treasured and veracious part of that belief was that English imperialism in particular had always been resisted. But that was shattered by the Cromwellian occupation of 1651-60.

Things could have been worse, though. In Ireland, after some of the bloodiest exchanges in British history, the Cromwellian 'achievement' was to impose an alien protestant landowning elite on a dispossessed native catholic population. Scotland, on the other hand, was different. Viewed as an independent and godly protestant people, the Scots – though 'misguided' – were thought of as a natural ally. But the nation's 'independent' status was purely cosmetic. When the English wanted a union to secure the Commonwealth in 1652, the Scots were forced to comply.

Most resigned themselves to the practicalities of the situation, but remained hostile to the concept. As one Kirk minister put it, 'the embodying of Scotland

with England ... will be as when the poor bird is embodied in the hawk that hath eaten it up'.

Charles II's Restoration in Scotland in the early 1660s was an exercise in score-settling. Those Covenanters who had so humiliated him in the past were singled-out for execution, as meanwhile he installed a greedy and corrupt noble-led regime – men desperate to recoup losses sustained under Cromwell. But the Covenanters didn't go away, indeed they were set to cause major headaches for the Scottish executive after the government reinstated the authority of bishops and patronages in 1662.

Most think of Scotland's earliest attempts at colonisation as being Darien in 1695. But the first project to establish a New Scotland was in fact begun much earlier, in 1621. Covering the entire maritime region of Canada today, it survived better than most. But French hostility eventually scuppered the colony.

Striking evidence of the Scots' achievement notably survives in one name – the Canadian province of Nova Scotia.

The Lord Protector's uneasy conquest

Domination by the English was the price Scotland paid for a peace it was tiring for. But things could have been worse. Cromwell did not see the Scots as his natural enemies

The state of Scotland late in 1651 was pitiful. After the huge defeats at Dunbar and Worcester, the Lowlands were in English hands, and though resistance continued in parts of the Highlands for several years, this never looked like breaking the English stranglehold.

The cost of war in England, Scotland and Ireland over the previous 12 years had been huge, both in money and men. The power of the Élites in society had been broken. Many of the greater landlords were in exile, in prison, or on the run. Most were hugely in debt, and threatened with fines or confiscation of estates by the new English regime. Their lands had been ravaged, their tenants impoverished.

In the towns, trade was disrupted, taxes were high – and Dundee had been sacked. The intellectual driving force of the Covenanted movement, the Presbyterian parish ministers, were demoralised and bitterly feuding among themselves about who was responsible for bringing God's wrath on the land.

They were God's chosen people, doing His work, so why was He smiting them? They were bewildered.

As a national force, the Covenanted movement was over, discredited by failure. Ambitions had been huge, but the end result was national disaster.

Scotland had long prided itself on being a never-conquered nation, boasting that while England had been over-run by

■ Cromwell: portrayed as 'Lord Protector of England, Scotland, France and Ireland and the territories thereunto belonging' – in engraving by Charles Turner from a print by W. Faithorne.





■ The Cromwell cabinet caricatured in an engraving by an unknown satirist.

all-comers – Romans, Saxons and Normans – in turn, Scotland had successfully resisted them.

Above all, the English had never completed their attempts at conquest. Now that treasured national boast had gone for ever.

In a sense, however, the Scots were lucky in their conquerors. Oliver Cromwell had crushed them, but he had done so with genuine reluctance. Conquering the Irish in 1649 had been one thing, for he saw the Catholic Irish as agents of Antichrist, guilty of atrocities against Protestants. They needed to be punished ferociously, their culture and religion destroyed.

By contrast, Cromwell saw the Covenanting Scots as in many ways his natural allies. They were just misguided, and needed to be put on the right track.

Their fervour in the Protestant cause, their hatred of Catholicism, their preference for simple forms of worship and 'puritan' lifestyles – all that appealed to him. But he was frustrated and eventually driven to war with them by their stubbornness in two things.

Firstly they refused to recognise the new 'commonwealth' or republican regime in England, and by proclaiming Charles II they demonstrated their determination to restore monarchy there.

Secondly, they insisted that



■ Lord Protector: Cromwell considered Covenanted Scots misguided.

► presbyterianism was the only 'godly' form of church government. England must copy it from Scotland and suppress all who opposed it.

Long argument – "I beseech you... think it possible you might be mistaken" – having failed to dissuade the Scots from threatening England, Cromwell conquered them. But he then tried to win them over.

Landlords who had made war in England were to be punished, but the Scots common people were to be won over to support their conquerors. They had been led astray by tyrannical landlords and fanatical parish ministers, but now would be freed from their power. The feudal hold of landlords over lesser men would be broken, good government and justice provided. Presbyterian church structure and worship would be allowed to continue, but the church would not be able to persecute those who choose other forms of puritan worship.

This 'toleration' was very limited, and certainly did not extend to

Catholics; nonetheless the Church of Scotland was horrified, its power to discipline society broken, while worship of the hated independents – puritans rejecting any centralised church government and organising themselves in separate congregations – was encouraged.

Here the English saw themselves as generous. What could be more beneficial to them than having the freedoms of true-born Englishmen? Idealistic, but also patronising. And these policies were a matter of expediency as well as idealism. If Scots could be won over to believe they were benefiting from conquest and to accept the regime, ruling the country would be far cheaper – as the size of the English army of occupation could be slashed.

To help in this process, there would be constitutional change. As a republic proclaiming freedom, the commonwealth was uneasy about simply ruling Scotland as a conquered territory, so Scots

However humiliating the conquest may have been, the English thought they were doing Scots a favour

delegates were summoned in 1652 to discuss a parliamentary union with England (a forerunner of 1707).

The result, with the English army occupying the country, was a foregone conclusion. The Scots agreed under pressure that they wanted union, and so the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland was proclaimed.

From the English point of view, in conquering Scotland they had done the Scots a favour. They had been freed from oppressive regimes in both church and state, and an end had been brought to unnecessary wars. Now they would get peace, good government and English liberty.

How did the Scots react? Mainly with resignation. Continued resistance seemed pointless, and once the fighting was over and English garrisons established around the country, the army proved pretty well disciplined and not inclined to interfere too much in daily life.

However humiliating the conquest may have been, at least it brought peace and order for the moment. Several sources state that English rule brought quicker and more impartial justice than had been available before – but perhaps this is not surprising, as the years of warfare immediately before had dislocated the legal system.

A few lairds showed support for republican ideals, often combined with support for independency. In towns at least, peace encouraged trade, and garrisons meant troops with money to spend. Relations with the English occupying forces seem to have been fairly relaxed – and even close, as births of illegitimate children to less than ideally puritan local girls showed, as well as marriages between soldiers and Scots girls.

It was the displaced Élites who were most hostile to the new regime, with many landlords facing confiscations or fines imposed and powers reduced. There was little they could do about it.

Those who chose active resistance spent a miserable time being chased round the Highlands, quarrelling and fighting duels with each other before being forced to submit.

Presbyterian ministers continued their bitter bickerings. Not being able to defy the English, they vented their frustrations on each other, at one point reaching the humiliating position (for a church that prided itself on its unity) of holding two rival general

assemblies. They were contemptuously dispersed by English soldiers – ministers could argue all they liked, but shouldn't become a public nuisance.

But, disappointingly for the English, the vast majority of Scots remained loyal to their national church and to their traditional social superiors, to monarchy and to the ideal of Scotland as a separate nation.

They might be told Scotland had a share of political power in the commonwealth, but everyone knew the supposed union hid the reality of conquest. If Scotland were England's partner, why was there a large English army of occupation?

In retrospect, the Cromwellian Union looks a brief hiccup in the course of history, and though at the time people could not have known it would quickly collapse, it is still likely that many thought of it as a temporary arrangement, not seeing, or wanting to see, how it could last.

It was an aberration and would end. But there was also acceptance that it would not be the Scots who brought down the commonwealth.

In the 1640s the Scottish tail had sought to wag the English dog, and the result was conquest.

Events in England would be decisive, and here there was ground for hope. The republican regime staggered from crisis to crisis, trying to legitimise itself and decide where it was going. Parliaments came and went, Cromwell was proclaimed Lord Protector, the politicians and generals argued. It was clear that even in England support was limited; that government rested on military might – and on Cromwell's dominating presence.

The regime's ideals of radical reform dwindled away, and it proved more expedient to rely on landlords for co-operation in government in Scotland rather than to reduce their powers. This reconciled many to the regime, if only temporarily.

If there were any military threat to Cromwellian rule in Scotland, it was the royalist 'Glencairn' rising of 1653-54. Led by William Cunningham, ninth Earl of Glencairn – with official backing of Charles II – it had the support of certain Lowland families and some Highland clan chiefs. But despite the efforts of its commander, John Middleton, the movement lacked

TIMELINE

1649-50

Oliver Cromwell's English Commonwealth established, followed by the bloody conquest of Ireland.

1651

Beginning of uneasy nine-year occupation of Scotland by Cromwellian regime.

1652

Scots delegates pressurised into parliamentary union with England. They agree to form the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland.

1653-4

Royalist-inspired 'Glencairn' rising threatens Cromwellian rule in Scotland.

1658

Cromwell dies – and the Commonwealth falls apart without its central link.

1660

The Restoration: Charles II returns to Britain from the Spanish Netherlands, and the monarchy is restored to power.

1661

First meeting of the Scottish Restoration parliament declares null and void all acts of the Covenanted parliaments.

1662

Act forcing ministers to accept bishops' and patrons' authority meets widespread rejection.

1666

Pentland Rising: state bid to crack down on illegal church meetings results in rebellion in south-west Scotland.

1669-72

Declarations of Indulgence issued, designed to bring hostile presbyterians back into the government fold.



■ A Restoration cartoon ridiculing Oliver Cromwell – with impunity, as 'The Lord Protector' was no more.

focus and was comparatively easily suppressed. Nobles who took part were given severe financial penalties.

When Scotland relaxed, the army of occupation shrank. But all depended on Cromwell, the link that held the system together, and in 1658, he died – ironically, on September 3, the anniversary of both his great victories over the Scots – at Dunbar and Worcester.

His son Richard ('Tumble-down Dick') was named Lord Protector, but hastily resigned.

Parliament and generals argued, royalists plotted.

Chaos and renewed civil war seemed frighteningly possible.

General George Monck, commander of the largest of the Cromwellian armies, the army in Scotland, decided to use his men to force a settlement.

He would march south and seize London. Though he did not make clear what sort of settlement he wanted, it would obviously involve restoration of

monarchy, and many leading Scots eagerly offered to raise men to help him. He tactfully refused, arguing that Scots would be most useful keeping peace at home, for it would be disastrous to his cause to be seen

leading Scots forces into England.

Scots armies had been active in England in 1640, 1644-7, 1648 and 1651, and many English blamed such forces for prolonging the civil wars.

So it was an army of English soldiers from Scotland that took London and restored Charles II. Monck was created first Duke of Albemarle by a grateful monarch.

The Scots stood and watched as their fate was settled. There seemed little legacy of bitterness about the Cromwellian occupation, but people were heartily glad to see the end of it. Even in England, the republican experiment had been seen as the setting up of an alien regime.

No wonder Scotland, conquered into republicanism, found little reason to lament its passing. ●

■ General George Monck, who commanded the English army of occupation in Scotland. He led his soldiers to London to help restore the monarchy.



The eccentric called 'Rabelais Incarnate'



He translated the scandalous French monk with natural empathy but Sir Thomas Urquhart couldn't write off debts or intellectual baggage so easily

If we are to believe Sir Thomas Urquhart, one-time laird of Cromarty, he could trace his family line right back to Adam. In fact, as he colourfully put it, back to "the red earth from which God framed Adam, surnamed the Protoplast (the original being)".

Indeed, Urquhart calculated that he was the 143rd in direct line from Adam and that his family name derived from one Ourqhartos, who was fifth in line from Noah and who married the Queen of the Amazons, the race of warlike females. A Greek prince from the third century BC also figured in his pedigree. Nobody is certain how much of this he really believed, if any.

For Urquhart – a scholar, writer and royalist – was also a prime example of the Scottish 17th-century eccentric. He was widely travelled, multilingual, and a writer on subjects which ranged from the controversial to the obscure.

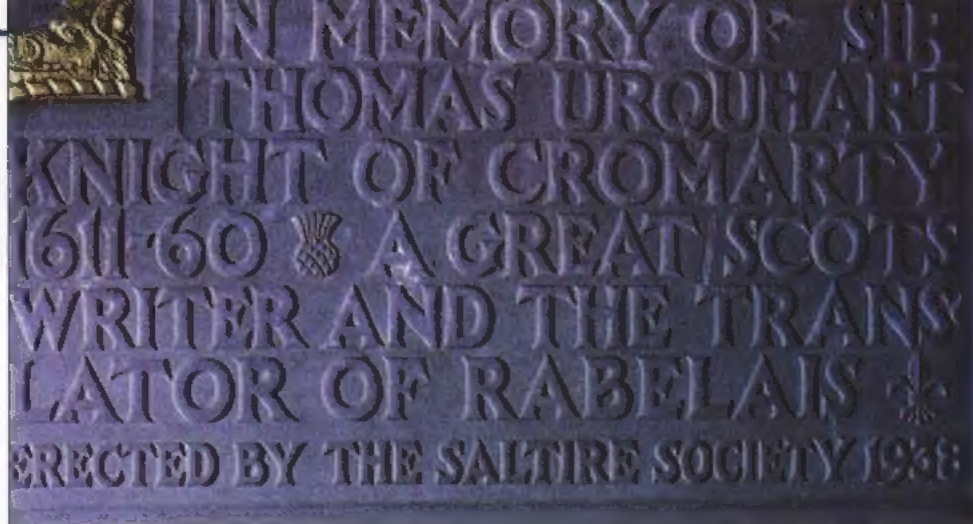
One biographer called him "a Scottish euphuist", which means a writer in a high-flown, bombastic style, but with a fertile and inventive brain. Yet he spent much of his life wrestling with crippling debts, fighting for the royalist cause, in prison, in exile, or pursuing one adventure or another.

The times he lived in contributed to the turmoil of his existence – as religious revolution seethed in Scotland. There was a lot going on for a thinking Scot to get excited about; and for Urquhart, there was also a certain degree of chaos surrounding his family.

Born in 1611, he was the first son of Sir Thomas Urquhart the elder, an occasional court favourite of James VI who shared the monarch's interest in genealogy and church affairs. James knighted him in 1617.

This Thomas had no inkling of being a direct descendant from Adam, thinking instead (and quite

■ Adventurer with a brain: Sir Thomas Urquhart claimed to be 143rd in direct line from Adam.



■ A plaque in tribute to Sir Thomas Urquhart – erected in 1938 at the East Church, Cromarty.

accurately) that he had Norman roots from the 12th-century Galleroch de Urchart.

Although the father had inherited the family estates in Cromarty in good financial shape, he landed in difficulties through reckless spending and bad management. Some land had to be sold off in 1636.

The following year there was a mysterious incident in which two of his sons, Thomas and a younger brother, were charged with “laying violent hands” on their father and holding him prisoner in an upstairs room at Cromarty Tower. But the matter was hushed up when other members of the gentry were sent in to settle the quarrel.

Sir Thomas the elder died five years later, with his creditors hounding him to the last. So the estate his clever-witted son inherited was a fair nest of woes.

But before the younger Thomas became a debt-saddled landowner, he had probably experienced the most enjoyable years of his life. In 1622 he became a student at King’s College, Aberdeen, where he was enrolled as Thomas Urquhardus de Cromartie. At this time, the college had a reputation for literary studies but also had royalist and anti-Covenant sympathies.

This accorded with Urquhart’s upbringing. His father had left the Roman Catholic faith but remained an episcopalian and a monarchist. The younger Urquhart found here his lifetime’s obsession with scholarship and was said to have dived happily into the “mysteries of natural philosophic” while other students were out chasing game.

Thomas was also a ward of his great-uncle John, known as the Tutor of Cromartie, to whom he probably owed the eccentricity of his thinking and his fascination for the most obscure of subjects. After college, and while there was probably still money in the family coffers, Thomas set off on the ‘Grand Tour’ and visited France, Spain and Italy. He claimed that he could soon speak these country’s languages so well that he passed for a native.

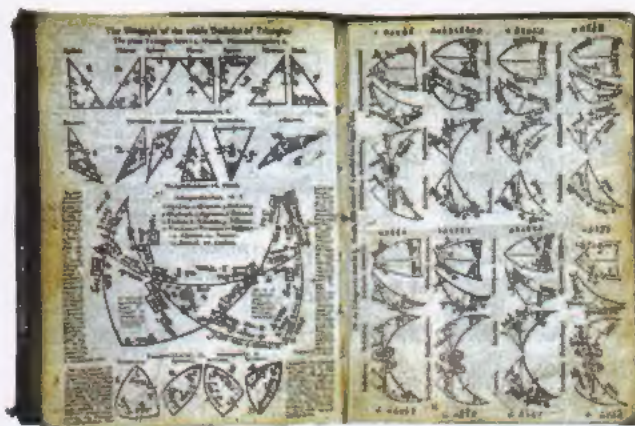
He sounds like an unbearable guest for any household. He wrote that he took every opportunity of demonstrating to foreigners that the Scots were superior in learning, honesty and acts of valour. He claimed that in each country he made this point by taking on a local hero in armed combat, disarming them, but magnanimously sparing their lives once they accepted Scottish supremacy. Soon after his

return to Scotland, Urquhart became embroiled in various skirmishes in the North-East in 1639 which followed the signing of the National Covenant.

As an anti-Covenanter, he first attempted to retrieve a store of arms which he had deposited in a great house at Turriff, but these seem to have fallen into the hands of a rival family. He was part of a royalist force which occupied Aberdeen for a while, and when this force dispersed he sailed for London, entered the service of Charles I, and was knighted by him at Whitehall.

It was the following year that he inherited the estate and 15th-century Tower of Cromarty, and he returned there to try to find a way of pacifying the creditors. He made an arrangement to pay off debts, went abroad again for three years, and returned to find the estate had been badly managed and his debts were as great as ever.

Despite all the financial pressures on him, he continued to write (as Sir Walter Scott was to do later) and completed a recondite book on

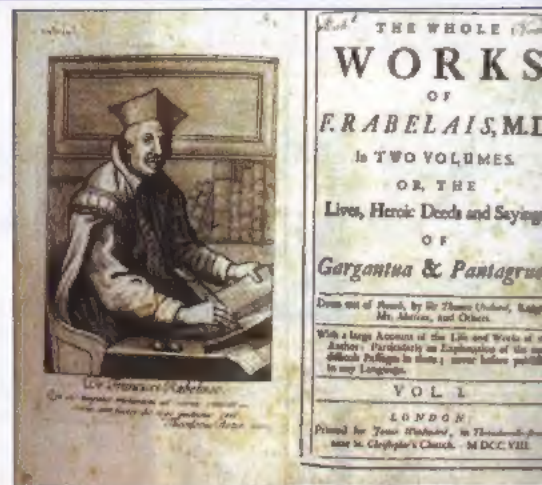


■ No best-seller: Urquhart’s trigonometry book for the ‘mathematically affected’.

trigonometry called ‘The Trissotetras’ – “a most Exquisite Table for Resolving all manner of Triangles with Greater Facility than ever hitherto hath been Practised. Published for the benefit of those that are mathematically affected”.

It was not destined to be a best-seller. But Urquhart has been praised for his ability to keep writing and detach himself from “solicitudinarity and luctiferous discouragements” – from, in other words, the anxieties of his financial circumstances.

But one personal tragedy was the seizure of



■ Rabelais in English – thanks to Sir Thomas.

his extensive library by his creditors. His books, he said, were “a nosegay of flowers which in my travels I had gathered out of the gardens of above sixteen several kingdoms”.

There was one particularly heartless creditor “of whom,” wrote Urquhart later, “no good can truly be spoken but that he is dead”.

Now, however, political events gathered pace. With the execution of Charles I in London in 1649, Urquhart was part of the abortive rising which planted the standard of Charles II at Inverness. For this, the Scottish parliament declared him a rebel: but Urquhart nevertheless joined the royalist army which went south to fight Cromwell at Worcester.

This was not a soldier who travelled light. He took with him four large portmanteaux of clothing and three trunks filled with his handwritten manuscripts.

After the royalist army was routed, almost all of Urquhart’s writings were lost, although his weird genealogy, showing his descent from Adam, survived. While being held prisoner, Urquhart was able to communicate this to Cromwell, hoping to convince him that he was far too valuable to mankind to be “prematurely cut off”.

Cromwell doesn’t seem to have been impressed, but neither did he think Urquhart was any kind of danger to the realm. He was allowed to return to Scotland in 1652, found his creditors still on the warpath, and was back in London the following year.

This was when he published what is regarded as his masterwork, a translation into English of the first book of Rabelais, the French monk who scandalised 16th-century society with his scatological satires. The translation was so perfect in tone and empathy that Urquhart has been described as “Rabelais incarnate”.

He published several other works, including ‘The Jewel’, an attack on the cultural influence of Scottish presbyterianism. But from London he went into exile in The Netherlands where he died in 1660.

He is supposed to have expired in a fit of laughter when he heard that Charles II had been restored to the British throne.

Was this true? What matters most is that this would have been the perfect exit for a most idiosyncratic Scottish patriot. ●

Charles is restored:

Back from exile, the King – still smarting from humiliation by Covenanters – steered clear of his northern kingdom, letting his Scots nobles do his bidding. The results were corruption and armed conflict over religion

Charles II returned to Britain from The Netherlands in 1660, but he never visited Scotland again. In view of his humiliating treatment at the hands of the Covenanters in the early 1650s, this is hardly surprising.

If Charles had ever put a personal ad in a newspaper, he could have truthfully described himself as "laid back, with a great sense of humour".

But he was also cold, selfish and fairly devious. That, though, may not have been a bad job description for a 17th-century king. How to be devious was something he had to learn, living in exile until he was 30 – after having, at the age of 18, lived through the trauma of his father's execution.

Charles II soon discovered after his Restoration that his Scottish nobles could be relied on to run Scotland to his satisfaction and their profit, and he let them get on with it.

There were more Scots than Charles or the nobles suspected who

still felt bound by the National Covenant and rejected the church imposed on them. They remained a major irritant, but the nobles didn't allow the later Covenanters to bother them as much as church historians, especially Victorian ones, thought they should have.

These men who ran Scotland for Charles II had often suffered financially under Cromwell, which explains – but doesn't excuse – the graft and corruption of the Restoration period.

Some prominent Covenanters were marked down for punishment. One was Archibald, first Marquis of Argyll, who was executed in 1661. He seems to have particularly irked Charles II some 10 years earlier by suggesting that the way to the hearts of the Scottish people was to marry his (Argyll's) daughter. Another victim was James Guthrie, minister of Stirling and a Covenanted pamphleteer. He is supposed to have enjoyed some cheese with his last

meal, explaining that he'd always been told to avoid it for health reasons but that probably didn't matter now. Johnston of Warriston, co-author of the National Covenant, fled abroad but was extradited from France and executed in 1663.

Charles II's Scottish Parliament met on January 1, 1661, with John, Earl of Middleton, as the King's commissioner. He was a former soldier, not from an old noble family, and he wasn't smart enough in the long term to counter the jealousy that he provoked. But he boldly went for a church settlement that was more extreme than the King's London advisers expected to get away with, and he achieved it.

But John Maitland, second Earl and later Duke of Lauderdale, an ex-Covenanter who had been in prison in England during the Cromwellian regime, was a much smarter statesman. He was content with the lower-profile job of secretary, which allowed him to be

■ Back to the throne: Charles's entry into London for the Restoration in 1660. His stately procession heads down Whitehall.



to remote control

in London a lot and retain the ear of the King. The key Act of 1661 was the Act Rescissory, which declared null and void all the Acts of the Covenanted Parliaments, and left a blank slate for the new government to write on.

It promised an indemnity to all who had acted on the authority of these parliaments, but said there might be exceptions to this, without naming names. This was enough to keep ambitious Scots politicians, many of whom had Covenanted skeletons in their cupboards, in line. Now that the Scots Parliament had

asserted the King's authority in this way, a proclamation from the cross of Edinburgh in September, 1661, stated that bishops would be restored, because of "the unsuteableness" of Presbyterianism "to his Majesties monarchical estate".

Moderate and less-moderate Presbyterians had been negotiating in London to prevent this

happening, but it now seemed they had been strung along. One of the moderate Covenanters accepted this with a good grace, and also accepted the top job as Archbishop of St Andrews. This was the notorious James Sharp. He was a smoother operator than Alexander Burnet, the hard line Archbishop of

Glasgow, Robert Leighton, Bishop of Dunblane, was a saintly, dreamy sort of man who tried to promote religious harmony but was out of his depth in politics.

In any case, Charles II, learning from his father's mistakes, made sure that his bishops pretty much kept their noses out of civil politics.

The church settlement kept kirk sessions, presbyteries and synods in being, though the presbyteries and synods didn't include lay elders, and were chaired by royal nominees.

Professor Gordon Donaldson once wrote that doctrinaire Presbyterians didn't accept this compromise, and Professor Ian Cowan wrote that conscientious Presbyterians couldn't have accepted it. Even the General Assembly was continued in theory, but was never allowed to meet.

An Act of 1662 said ministers had to accept the authority of bishops and of patrons - that is, they had to accept the laird's right to appoint them - or lose their jobs. The

government must have assumed that a handful of ministers would reject this, and the church would be well rid of them. In fact, out of around 900 parish ministers, some 270 rejected the church settlement.

They began to hold conventicles, illegal church services, in houses and later on, as they grew in size, out in the hills and fields. This showed that the government had seriously miscalculated.

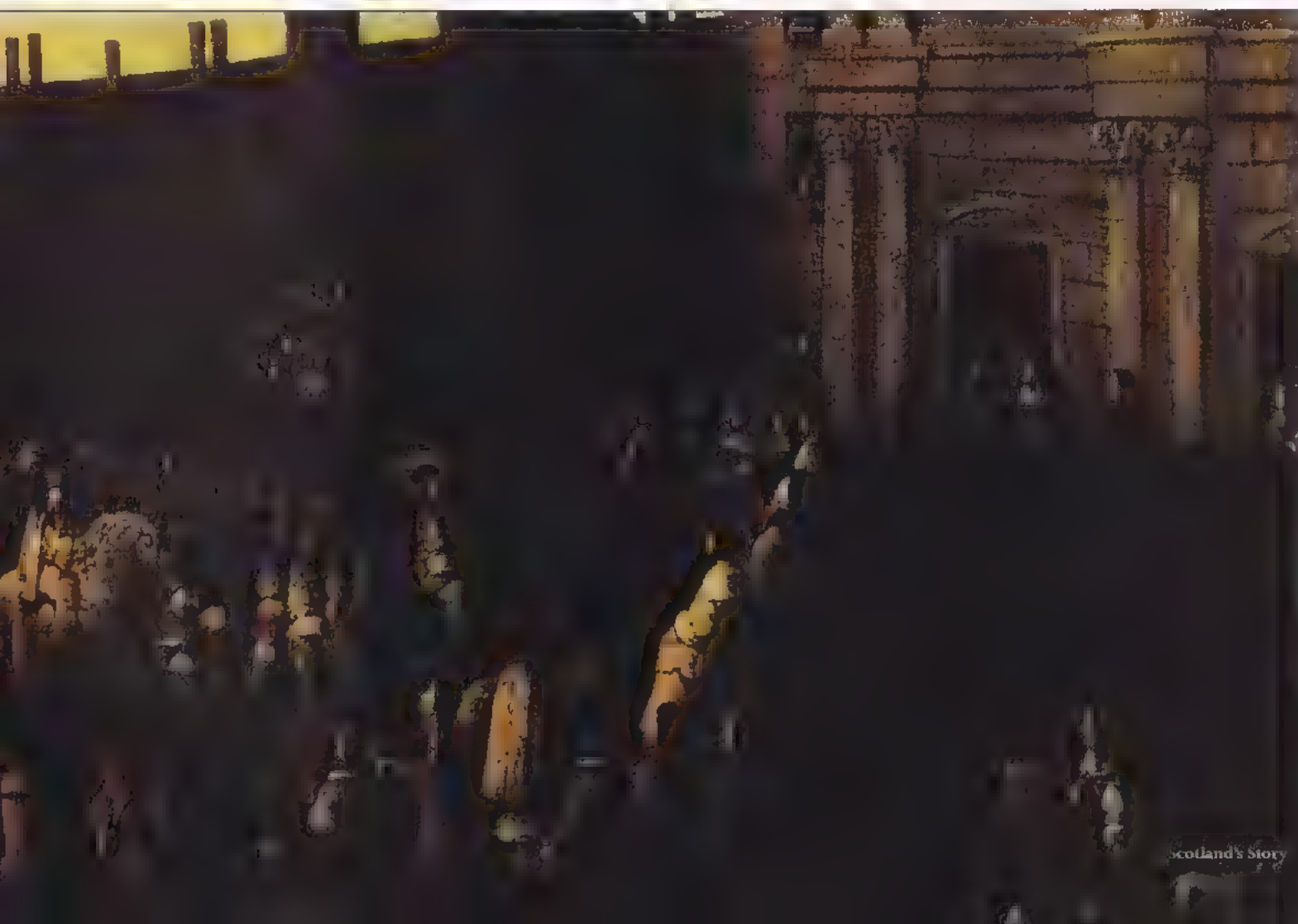
The government started to crack down on these illegal meetings, sending troops around to fine non-attenders at church and to be billeted on them. This provoked an armed rising in south-west Scotland in 1666 - called the Pentland Rising.

The rebels were not professional soldiers, but simply ordinary folk who had been goaded into spontaneous rebellion and hoped the King could be brought to see reason.

Why else would they have started their march on Edinburgh in November of all months? They got as



■ Charles II: did not visit Scotland after his Restoration in 1660.



far as Colinton, sent an unheeded request to the Privy Council to hear their grievances, then retreated round the east flank of the Pentlands. By the time they reached Flotterstone, a government force under General Tam Dalvell of the Binns (ancestor of the MP), which had marched through the hills from Currie, had caught up with them.

The rebels defended their position at Rullion Green (on the slopes of Turnhouse Hill and Lawhead Hill) until Dalzell, attacking across the Glencorse Burn in the failing November light, pushed them off the hill and routed them. Some rebels were killed in battle, others executed.

The numbers were not great, but Rullion Green captured the imagination of later Scots, notably Robert Louis Stevenson.

When he was dying in the South Pacific, he wrote a beautiful poem evoking the landscape of his boyhood...

*"Where above the graves
of the martyrs the wharps
are crying"*

In provoking such a rebellion, the Scottish government had been inept, and its military agents had been fining religious rebels to line their own pockets. Back from London came the one outstanding politician of the period – John, Earl of Lauderdale, ex-Covenanter and still theoretically sympathetic to Presbyterianism – to sort out this mess. But the task proved to be beyond even him.

In 1669 and 1672 Lauderdale issued Declarations of Indulgence, whereby ministers who had lost their jobs in 1662 could now return to their parishes, if they promised to stay out of trouble. This was a measure of toleration unusual in the 17th century, and it meant that within the religious establishment there would be ministers still basically hostile to it, while the out-and-out religious rebels continued to hold their conventicles in the hills. It also angered hard line Episcopians like Archbishop Burnet of Glasgow, who said as much, and found himself replaced by the more tolerant Robert Leighton.

Some of the preachers at conventicles became folk heroes. One such was 'the prophet' Alexander Peden, and another was John Welsh, former minister of

Irongray in Dumfriesshire, who kept up his preaching tours for 20 years, despite the fact that, after the Pentland Rising, Lauderdale said it was lawful for Welsh to be killed by anyone without special authority.

On one occasion Welsh preached in the middle of the frozen Tweed "that either he might be shewn the offence of both nations, or that two kingdoms might dispute his crime."

Lauderdale genuinely had a vision of toleration, but he and the clique around him wallowed in political

little to do with the out-and-out opposition to government policies displayed by those who attended conventicles. It did, however, contribute to an atmosphere of mounting criticism in Scotland. In 1674 the advocates in the Court of Session went on strike. Again, this was very much a matter of party politics, but they claimed a point of principle, namely the right of their clients to appeal their cases to Parliament, and in that respect they were vindicated at the Revolution of 1689. But the advocates in the strike showed little solidarity.

It collapsed when Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, convinced the other advocates were leaving him in the lurch, went back to work. He was then a government man, and is remembered as 'Bluddy Mackenzie', the Lord Advocate who successfully prosecuted Covenanters and "sent them to glorify God in the Grassmarket".

Exasperated at those who were still attending conventicles, Lauderdale wrote: "If our disaffected will continue mad, we must put a stout hart to a stey brae the unsatisfied preachers

are unsatisfied still... peevish and unsatisfiable. I meane to trouble my head no more with them."

In 1678 the Highland Host, 8,000 mainly Highland troops, were unleashed on south-west Scotland, to live off the land. As one observer wrote: "When they passed Stirling Bridge every man drew his sword to show the world they had returned conquerors from their enemies' land, but they might as well have shewn the pots, pans, girdles, shoes taken off countrymen's feet, and other bodily and household furniture with which they were loaded."

Once again, government policies provoked the very uprising that they professed to fear. It began with the murder of Archbishop Sharp of St Andrews, at Magus Muir outside the town, in May, 1679. It ended with the crushing of the rebel army at Bothwell Brig on June 22.

One of the chief political outcomes was the resignation of Lauderdale in 1680.

He had never let his youthful fondness for the Covenant interfere with his desire to please Charles II, but he did come closest, if only briefly, to bringing religious peace to Scotland. ●



■ Covenanters preaching: depiction of a field conventicle.

seize. His second wife, whom he married in 1672, was Elizabeth, Countess of Dysart in her own right, and in her younger days a woman of allure – some even said she had been Oliver Cromwell's mistress. The Lauderdale's castle at Thurlstone by Lauder, and their London home, Ham House at Richmond, are worth visiting, to see the opulent style in which they lived. But Elizabeth was shamelessly pushy on behalf of members of her family.

Similarly, when the Earl of Dundee died in 1668, the rights of the real heir to the property and title were ignored because Lauderdale's younger brother, Charles Maitland of Hatton, had his eye on them. To hide the terms on which the earldom had originally been granted, it seems someone tore a page out of one of the government's chief data bases – the Great Seal Register. Charles Maitland was general of the mint, but convicted of "embezzlements of the mint and coinage".

Out of office politicians, like the Duke of Hamilton, made trouble for Lauderdale in Parliament. This was in the hope that the government would buy them off, and had very

■ On their way to execution in Edinburgh's West Bow: Conventiclers captured in the Pentland Rising.



Scottish soldiers who

Famous for their true grit, Scots warriors were in demand in the 17th century by European armies seeking muscle

The Scottish soldiers who served abroad at the opening of the 17th century represented the continuation of a tradition of military migration dating back to the Middle Ages

Scottish soldiers had often augmented military forces across Europe, especially in France. Since the 15th century, the Garde Ecossaise had served as personal bodyguard of the King of France. By the 17th

century, however, there were few actual Scots in the Garde, although Frenchmen of Scottish ancestry continued to serve until the end of the century. Rather than serving Catholic France under some notion of the Auld Alliance, Scotsmen in the 17th century were more likely to turn up in countries more politically or theologically aligned with their own – so they appeared particularly in Dutch and Scandinavian armies

Scottish soldiers in foreign service

were levied with permission of the Scottish king to serve in allied armies. In 1572, the Scottish Privy Council issued a proclamation calling on able-bodied Scotsmen to fight in The Netherlands. The call was answered and 3,100 Scots were levied for service in the Low Countries between 1573 and 1579 to assist in the fight against Catholic Spain. Thereafter, in 1586, a permanent brigade consisting of three English and three Scottish

■ This 1816 cartoon illustrates the curiosity of French women for the kilts of Scottish soldiers during the occupation of Paris.



wandered far away

regiments was formed. Just as the Dutch brigade established, Scots also became a regular feature in the Swedish army

Archibald Ruthven received a royal licence to levy 1600 Scots for Sweden. Scottish enlistment continued, and by 1593 there were three independent troops of Scots cavalry in Swedish service, commanded by Henry Lyell, William Ruthven and Abraham Young

When Scotland became drawn

into the fight over the succession to the Swedish crown, the Stuarts supported the Polish king, Sigismund II against Duke Karl of Sweden (later King Karl IX)

Despite this, most Scots still fought for Karl who, in turn, openly thanked them for their help in 1599, emphasising their reliability

Being on the 'wrong' side was not always a matter of choice. Indeed, some soldiers found themselves being used as political pawns by the Stuart government. August, 1612, saw the debacle at Kringen in Norway, where about 350 Scots were ambushed by local Norwegian militia. The Scots were unarmed except for the officers and many were killed in the attack. A further 180 were executed in cold blood the next day. Of about 18 surviving officers, some were sent to join Danish service as 'punishment'. They had actually been enlisted by the British ambassador to Sweden, Sir James Spens, and probably thought they had done nothing wrong.

Nine years later, James VI and I hoped to proceed with a diplomatic alliance with Spain and offered Scottish military support against the Turks as a sweetener. He allowed the recruitment of 800 Scottish troops by the Spanish in 1622. They were to be used to fight the Turks in Sicily and were sent as proof of James's goodwill to Spain. However, many of these men believed they had been recruited to fight against the Habsburgs. On realising they had been duped, many promptly deserted to the Dutch as soon as they arrived in Flanders

The largest recipients of Scottish soldiers were the many armies that allied together to fight the Habsburg Empire during the Thirty Years' War, from 1618 to 1648. From the outset, the Scots showed a particular interest in the cause. The war began when Elector Frederick of the Palatinate accepted election to the throne of Bohemia in defiance of the soon-to-be Habsburg Emperor, Ferdinand II.

The wife of Frederick of the Palatinate happened to be the daughter of James VI and a native of Dunfermline. Scots enlisted by tens of thousand in what they believed was a war to reinstate their princess and her family to their Electoral and regal titles, regardless



■ Unflattering view of soldiers, including a Scot, in Gustav II Adolf's army. This Catholic propaganda was aimed at disrupting Protestant forces

of the theological politics of central Germany.

The Scottish Catholic Sir Andrew Gray raised a regiment of 1,000 English and 1,500 Scots in 1620 to fight in Bohemia. They joined another Scottish regiment of 1,000 men under the command of Colonel James Seaton. The Bohemian army and their allies collapsed under the Imperial offensive. Nonetheless, Seaton held the southern Bohemian town of Trebon until 1622, nearly a year and a half after the rest of the army had surrendered or fled

As Seaton surrendered, Sir Andrew Gray's second levy arrived in The Netherlands and became involved in the defence of the coastal town of Bergen-op Zoom. Despite some 2,800 Scots enlisting for the United Provinces, their actions remained mostly defensive until The Hague alliance of 1625 brought Great Britain, The Netherlands and

Denmark-Norway into a military confederation

By March, 1627, patents had been issued for 9,000 Scots to be raised in three Danish regiments of 3,000 men. They were to be commanded by Robert Maxwell, Earl of Nithsdale (who also received the title of General of all Scots in Denmark), Alexander Lindsay, Lord Spynie, and James Sinclair, Baron Murckle. These troops joined 2,000 Scots already in Danish service under Donald Mackay

Nithsdale's rank of General was vigorously contested by Lord Spynie who objected to his Catholicism and lack of military experience. If nothing else, Spynie's complaint highlights the fact that soldiers were in the same army for different reasons. Nithsdale obviously did not see the war as one of religion, but Spynie clearly did. In any case, the efforts of the 13,700 Scots in Danish

SOLDIERS OF FORTUNE

In recognition of his war success, Alexander Leslie became the first soldier in Russian history to hold the title 'General'

► service came to naught. Fraught with internal difficulties and unable to rely on his indigenous and German troops, Christian IV came to terms with the Emperor in 1629 with the Treaty of Lübeck

The exit of Denmark from the war paved the way for a new Swedish phase. Already by 1630 some 12,000 Scots served in the army of Gustav II Adolf, amounting to one-sixth of his army. Sir James Spens had arranged many of these levies in preparation for the inevitable Swedish attack against the empire

The Swedish historian Alf Aberg has calculated that some 30,000 Scots served in the Swedish army throughout the war. The Swedish entry into the war led to lesser military migrations to the east

In 1630, Alexander Leslie of Auchintoul was sent with about 60 Scottish officers to Russia by Gustav II Adolf of Sweden to 'modernise' the army of Tsar Mikhail Romanov

Leslie's mission formed part of a larger anti Habsburg scheme which reached fruition with the recruitment of 66,000 foreign soldiers, including Scots, entering Russian service in 1631 – and the opening of the war on the eastern front by the anti Habsburg alliance. In recognition of his success, Leslie became the first soldier in Russian history to hold the title of 'General'

The death of Gustav II Adolf in November 1632 at the Battle of Lützen led many to believe Sweden would withdraw from the war. The Heilbronn League the following year also meant an increased role for France in the anti-Habsburg coalition

In 1632, the Marquis of Huntly received a commission to raise a regiment of Scottish troops for French service. Another Scottish regiment entered French service in 1634, under the command of Sir James Hepburn fresh from his Swedish command. The regiment survived his death in 1636 and received another 1,000 men in 1637. It was joined the following year by Lord Gray's regiment

All three of these officers were Catholics who opposed Habsburg hegemony in Europe. Recruiting for



■ Garde Ecosaise du Corps du Roi with Charles VII in the 15th century. They served French kings until Charles X.

Protestant Sweden still continued as well, and many significant reinforcements arrived from Scotland throughout the decade, the last group in 1638

They metaphorically passed en-route more than 300 Scottish veteran officers returning from Swedish service. Under Field Marshal Alexander Leslie, they formed the Army of the Covenant that fought Charles I in the Bishops

Wars of 1639-1640. The Treaty of London in August, 1641, formally concluded hostilities between the Covenanters and Charles I

Thereafter, it had been the intention of Alexander Leslie to put the Scottish army to service in Germany against the Habsburgs on behalf of Charles's sister, Elizabeth

However, events in Ireland, England and Scotland prevented this. Some regiments did leave Scotland

to join France and the anti Habsburg alliance. James Campbell, Earl of Irvine, received permission to establish a Scottish guards regiment of 4,500 men for the King of France. Existing Scottish regiments were also granted permission to raise new levies

The regiment of Lord James Douglas, formerly Hepburn's, received new recruits in 1642 as did that commanded by Colonel

James Fullerton. Indeed, by 1648, warrants for 10,320 soldiers for French service had been issued. Soon after the war, surviving Scottish units merged and served on as the Regiment de Douglas.

The Scots had a significant impact on the military elite of the armies in which they served. There were 13 Scottish colonels in Dutch service between 1618 and 1648.

No single country provided such a large proportion of the officer corps of Denmark-Norway as Scotland between 1625-1629.

In those years, 303 Scottish officers were taken into service and outnumbered Danish and Norwegian officers by three to one in their own army.

They also had 20 times as many officers as the English, who fielded

only 16 throughout the same period. Twenty-five other Scots were majors or above. And the dominance of Scots in Denmark-Norway was actually surpassed in Sweden.

Of the 3,262 officers at the disposal of Gustav II Adolf in 1632, 413 were Scots, 36 were English, two were Irish and 22 others were of unspecified 'British' origin. In all, the Scots made up 13 per cent of Sweden's officer corps.

Between 1624 and 1660 they would eventually include eight field marshals and generals, 69 colonels, 49 lieutenant colonels and 57 majors, providing a military pedigree Swedes themselves found hard to match.

This number includes those recruited in the last great enlistment of Scots into any Scandinavian army. Ironically on that occasion, 1655-56, Lord Cranstoun led a regiment of

2,000 Scots into Swedish service to join 2,000 more - remnants of Glencairn and Middleton's unsuccessful Royalist rising against Cromwell's forces in Scotland - under Colonel William Vavasour.

As part of the terms granted to them by General Monck, the Royalist officers were allowed to take their troops into the service of any country not hostile to the Cromwellian regime.

Sweden, already replete with Scottish officers and men, seemed the obvious choice and proved to be the land in which many of these men chose to settle.

For the remainder of the century Scots continued to serve in foreign armies and there were many other examples from Poland, Venice, and the Habsburg armies.

Some high-profile individuals like

General Patrick Gordon in Russia became famous for their service abroad. However, the age of the mass enlistment witnessed by Denmark-Norway, Sweden and France throughout the Thirty Years' War was over for the time being.

Indeed, only the exodus of Jacobite exiles between 1690-1746 came close to achieving the same statistical significance. Instead, post-Restoration Scottish military migrants sought employment abroad in tens and twenties, rather than tens of thousands.

Political, theological and dynastic relations between Scotland and The Netherlands saw Dutch service return as the mainstream destination for the Scottish soldier abroad.

A century after the recruiting drive of 1572, Scottish enlistment patterns had gone full circle. ●



Scots made up 13 per cent of the Swedish army officer corps serving under Gustav II Adolf - shown at the 1632 Battle of Lützen, where he perished.

When a curse was

Witches they may not have been – indeed some were even called saints – but the spirit of covenanting women was in their tongues

Calvinists – they burned witches, didn't they? The stereotypical image of Scots Calvinism is hardly feminist-friendly. Images of John Knox making Mary, Queen of Scots weep come to mind. Yet many Scots have heard of the mythical stool throwing Jenny Geddes. What was the role of women really like in covenanting Scotland?

Firstly, it is unfair to unduly associate Scottish Calvinism with witch hunting. Northern European Catholic and Protestant countries believed equally in witches and sought to persecute them. In Scotland, both Catholic and Protestant noble families were enthusiastic witch-hunters.

Demonology was part of European Renaissance culture and came to the fore every time there was a social law-and-order panic.

It might be true that zealous evangelical ministers were more willing to believe their parishioners when they came to them with tales of the Devil, but this made them popular with their flocks rather than the reverse. Ordinary people certainly believed women were more likely to be witches than men.

As one eminent Scottish historian explained, "Women use words, men use knives".

Cursing was more likely to be a female weapon and 17th-century people believed it could be as efficient as running your enemy through with a sword. While misogyny certainly played some part in witch accusations, the witch-hunt



probably had more to do with the belief that anyone with a grudge could access supernatural power.

Women, having less access to social power, were believed to be more likely to do this. "May neither sea nor salt water bear you, and may the partons (crabs) ryve your flesh!" cried Isobel Inch against her enemy.

The enemy's boat sank with the provost of Irvine on board at the time – cue witchcraft trial. The belief that a woman's curse could kill was at issue.

If women could have access to

diabolic powers, they could also have access to holy supernatural powers, and this is a part of the equation which is less well known to Scots.

Ever since John Knox's days, women had played an important part in radical religion. In the 17th century, when Presbyterian radicals came into conflict with James VI and Charles I, women continued to play an important part.

Elizabeth Melville, Lady Culross, was a published poet who supported banned ministers. Her skills in prayer were so famous that people

would creep into her bedroom at communion gatherings to hear her praying behind her bed-curtains.

Sarah, Lady Cranstoun hid Presbyterian historian and polemicist David Calderwood in a secret chamber in her house so that all the searches of the authorities to find him and prevent him writing subversive books were of no avail.

Made of even sterner stuff was the Marchioness of Hamilton, who raised the Hamilton troops and rode at the head of them herself when the covenanting rebellion was

as deadly as a sword



This was no subservient bride, as portrayed by Alexander Johnston in his painting *Marriage of the Covenanters*. She could expect to have her opinions heard.

challenged. Her son, the Marquis, was Charles I's chief servant dealing with the Scottish crisis. She said she would shoot him herself if he dared to invade Scotland in command of Charles's invasion fleet.

This brings us rather neatly to the myth of Jenny Geddes. On July 23, 1637, when Dean Hannah of St Giles Cathedral in Edinburgh got up to use the new service book in worship for the first time, the signs were not promising. As the Dean started to read, he began to be heckled. There were outbreaks of lamentations

from the body of the Kirk, especially from the women. By this point the Dean could hardly make himself heard but he ploughed on. The lamentations and curses got louder, and finally someone threw a stool. Suddenly, there was a mass walk out apparently led by respectable merchant's wife Barbara Mein, one of those behind the plotting of the uproar. The doors were barred and, according to legend, one elderly protester locked inside distinguished herself by assaulting a youth with her Bible, telling him not to "say mass in

my lug". Women joined in enthusiastically in the riots which followed. One bishop was caught by the mob and relieved of most of his episcopal attire. He was lucky to escape with his life, if not his clothes.

Later writers invented the character of Ms Geddes. This may originally have been a slur – as there was said to have been a real Jenny who kept a stall by the Tron. The implication was that Covenanters were simply a rabble of lower-class riff raff and women – enough said.

The truth was that high ranking

and respectable women such as Barbara were part of the organisation which allowed the protest to happen effectively.

It may seem strange to us now but Covenanters were often attacked by their enemies as favouring women. In those sexist days, this was considered to be a sure sign that a religion was deluded. Catholic and episcopalian writers both attacked Covenanters for the role they allowed women to play in their movement.

It wasn't as though Covenanters were ordaining women or demanding that they vote in Parliament or the Church, but informally women were allowed a fair share of influence. To their enemies, this was petticoat government.

Probably the most exceptional manifestation of this was the role of Margaret Mitchell, the prophetess. Discovered by Edinburgh minister Henry Rollock and covenanting statesman Archibald Johnston of Warriston, Margaret's rapturous predictions were taken as a sign from Heaven that God was with the Covenanters. She was introduced to all the main covenanting nobles at a key stage when they were in danger of losing their collective nerve. Many seem to have been convinced by her.

But Margaret was not the only female prophet the movement produced. There were later Presbyterian visionaries and prophetesses who were taken up to Heaven and given messages for the authorities. Some met angels with eyes of diamond, others fell into trances and saw the New Jerusalem with the blood of persecuted Covenanters streaming from under the throne of the Lamb. How different, how very different, you might say, from the home life of our own dear Kirk.

But not all covenanting women were visionaries and prophetesses. Many were what contemporaries referred to as 'saints' – not the kind who were canonised, but ordinary men or women considered to be so holy that their fellows wouldn't hesitate to classify them as members of God's predestined elect.

One of these 'saints' was Marion MacNaughton, who was part of a group of women who corresponded ►



■ A woman weeps after her Covenanter husband is killed by government troops. The Victorian painting, *Death of John Brown of Priesthill*, is by Thomas Duncan.

▶ with covenanting minister Samuel Rutherford. Rutherford did not hesitate to consult Marion on the most weighty matters.

She was part of his circle of close spiritual friends and confidantes. It was in this way that women could wield enormous influence, either as parts of prayer groups or as wives or close friends of 'godly' ministers.

The image of the 'sair, hauden-doon' puritan wife is far from borne out by what we know about these women.

Take, for example, the female saints of Coldingham. When David Hume, minister of Coldingham, wanted a wife, he offered the local godly lady of his choice the chance to "command me and enjoy me and all that I had or should have in the present world".

Sadly, she was not impressed, and told him "My spirit does not yield to being a minister's wife".

What her spirit did yield to was the local laird, who offered her liberty to go where she pleased and to name any minister she pleased for his church.

Margaret Hutcheson, wife of the neighbouring minister Daniel Douglas, was given to breaking all conventions by praying with weavers and the other lower orders of society.

Even when threatened with excommunication by opponents, she and her husband didn't care. She was bold enough to interpret the Bible herself and not afraid to do battle with local gentry when she thought they were keeping their servants from worship. The minister's wife was a force to be reckoned with in Scottish communities.

With the restoration of King Charles II in 1660 and the rejection of the Covenants, battle lines were drawn again between dissident presbyterians and state-sponsored episcopalians. Women were in evidence on the covenanting side once again.

Isobel Alison and Marion Harvey

were martyrs from the most radical covenanting faction. Both were hanged for their refusal to deny the radical creed of rebel field preacher, Richard Cameron.

The case of the Wigtown Martyrs, two women said to have been drowned by the laird of Lag, has excited much debate as to whether the atrocity really took place or not.

There is still doubt surrounding the case. It is possible, but there is no conclusive documentary evidence.

Child saint Emilia Geddie of Falkland conferred with the banned ministers and offered to go into service to support her family, rather than let her father risk eternal damnation by swearing obedience to

the hated episcopal regime. Emilia was a bit of a goody-goody, shunning dancing and levity and telling off her father for not being 'godly' enough.

Yet even as a young adolescent, she was considered worthy to pray for guidance as to what to do next in the face of government persecution, even in the company of ministers and other adults.

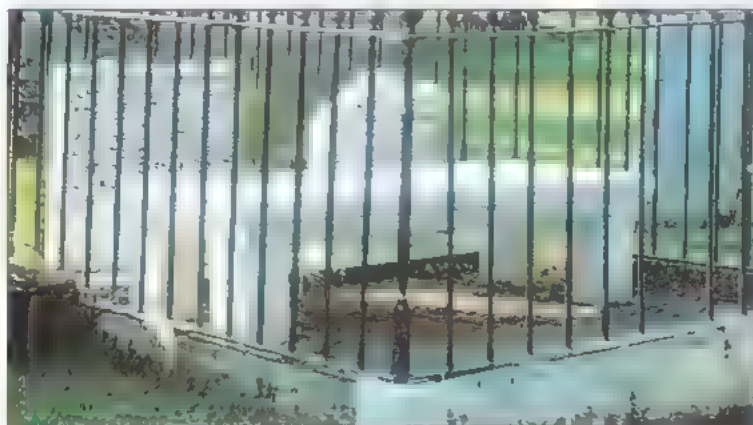
It is no surprise then to find out that the 'godly' Emilia had a rebellious schoolmistress who supported her in her distinctive piety.

Katharine Collace, who had a miserable time as the wife of an abusive husband, felt liberated when he died. She promptly set up a school first in Falkland, then in Edinburgh.

She taught her female pupils not only sewing but subversion, encouraging them in her own dissenting ways.

Katherine was a friend and helper of the ministers who preached at armed conventicles in the fields. If she had been caught harbouring them, jail or worse could have been her fate.

All in all, covenanting women were an interesting and a diverse lot. Anyone who thinks witch hunting and female submissiveness were hallmarks of Scottish Calvinism has far from the whole picture. ●



■ Still remembered: possibly the last resting place of the Wigtown Martyrs.

Driving force: William Alexander,
nearly realised his brave attempt to
'New Scotland' across the Atlantic



THE NEW SCOTLAND THAT WASN'T

It was a dream that 'enflamed' its prime mover, but Scotland's North American colony was to survive only by its Latin name

On July 28, 1629, a Scottish vessel entered the wide reaches of what would later become known as the Annapolis Basin, in Nova Scotia, and anchored off the former French settlement of Port Royal. There were no French colonists present, because they had been burned out by an English expedition some 16 years before and had moved their fishing and fur trading activities further to the south-west

Led by Sir William Alexander, son of the proprietor of the New Scotland colony, the would-be colonisers began to search for a likely site to erect a fort. The foundation was laid on August 1, on a rise of ground overlooking the basin

By the time three weeks had passed, progress had been made. The two other vessels making up the Scottish fleet, one of them a captured Basque fishing vessel, had straggled in after being dispersed by storms and fog. Some 70 colonists had landed

On August 20, not quite 13 weeks after the small fleet had departed from the Kent coast to make its way to Port Royal by way of Newfoundland and Cape Breton Island, the fort was ready to be ceremonially opened by Sir William.

"The General, with many shot of ordinance, and great joy and solemnity, named the fort King Charles his fort," wrote an eye witness. Although it ▶



■ The badge of the baronets of Nova Scotia.



■ The baronetcy arms of New Scotland – with King Charles I in the centre – as displayed in Menstrie Castle.

► would have a short history, Charlesfort represented a notable step forward for the efforts begun by Sir William's father – also Sir William Alexander – at the beginning of the 1620s.

The first New Scotland charter was issued to the elder Sir William under the Great Seal of Scotland on September 29, 1621.

Its timing was connected with discussions he had been pursuing with English colonial promoters involved in plans for Newfoundland and New England.

Writing in 1624, the elder Sir William described himself as "exceedingly enflamed" by the possibilities of North American colonisation, and looked forward to the time when "as there was a New France, a New Spaine, and a New England", so his fellow Scots "might likewise have a New Scotland".

The new colony's territory, at least in the charter's ambitious assertion, was extensive. It covered all of today's maritime region of Canada (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island) along with the Gaspé Peninsula in today's province of Quebec. In this large region, Sir William's entitlements included power to grant lands, a monopoly of fishery and fur trade, and the right to rule through the hereditary position of royal lieutenant general.

But in reality, like many northern European colonising schemes of the

time, the New Scotland venture was initially ill-conceived. Just to convey and support colonists was a major financial challenge.

In 1622, Sir William and two associates chartered a vessel, the Planter. Anchoring it at Kirkcudbright, he spent several precious weeks in a difficult search for artisans and other potential colonists willing to risk the voyage, and not until August did the vessel sail.

Its intended passage to Cape Breton was interrupted by bad

weather and it finally wintered in St John's, Newfoundland. There, many of Sir William's employees decided to find new opportunities in the fishery, and the remainder managed only a cursory cruise around the coasts of New Scotland in the summer of 1623 before turning for home.

Following this expensive lesson in the practicalities of North American colonisation, Sir William reorganised his finances through the royal creation of a new order of knights baronets. Each member of the order

would receive a 30,000-acre barony in New Scotland. They had to pay Sir William 1,000 merks Scots (£55 11s 1d sterling), and send six colonists, or pay another 2,000 merks.

The institution of the knights-baronetcies reflected the elder Sir William's close connection with the royal court. Although not in the front rank of royal advisers, he was master of requests for Scotland and had collaborated on a translation of the psalms with James VI who, along with his successor Charles I, rewarded Sir William with a lifelong accumulation of offices and titles.

The knights-baronetcies, however, found few takers and the amount of cash raised was disappointing.

Another expedition in 1628 left a small group of colonists to face the rigours of winter in a location that is uncertain from surviving evidence, but was probably in Newfoundland.

The greater success of the 1629 expedition was due in part to Sir William's cooperation with the Kirke brothers, English Huguenot merchants who successfully mounted an attack on Quebec during the same summer.

Even the 1629 expedition had its troubles. The intention was to establish two settlements – the one at Port Royal, and another on the east coast of Cape Breton Island. The Cape Breton colonists who consisted of "60 or 80 English" according to Sir William – lasted only a few weeks before a French vessel seized and expelled them. At Port Royal despite the promising start in August 1629, the winter brought hardship and the deaths of some 30 of the colonists. Scurvy was the main cause.

Nevertheless, their achievements. The relationship with the French was a cordial diplomatic relationship with the French.

In an attempt to establish a single colony in North America, the Scots soon found that this was a difficult task.

The failure of an attempt to establish a colony in North America with French settlers under the leadership of the Scots soon found that this was a difficult task. In September, the Scots succeeded in storming La Tour's fort on the St John River. The fort's officers had reported ruefully to France in 1631 that the New Scotland colonists "were making themselves more at home (at Port Royal) from day to day, and had brought in some families and cattle".

European international politics



■ A map from 1625 shows Nova Scotia divided as 'Alexandria' and 'Caledonia'.



■ A land worth owning. This vista of Kejimikujik National Park shows why Nova Scotia appealed to Scottish 'investors' – who were thwarted by politics.



■ Including a Native American: Nova Scotia arms granted by Charles I.

represented a more complex and ultimately a more lethal threat. At the time of the 1629 expedition's departure from the British Isles, two years of war between France and Charles I's kingdoms had just ended.

Treaty negotiations remained, and it soon emerged that among key French demands was the restitution of both Acadia – as the French called the area which included New Scotland – and Quebec.

Quebec presented little difficulty, as English negotiators agreed it had been seized in peacetime and should be restored. New Scotland, however, had been claimed by the Scots crown long before the war, and its return was resisted at first. Eventually, agreement was reached in the Treaty of Saint Germain en Laye (1632) on the basis of what was regarded on the Scottish side as a compromise – by which the Port Royal colonists would be evacuated, but without formal surrender of the Scottish claim to the territory. The French view was that the treaty implied full restitution, and French colonists returned in force to Acadia in 1632. The Scots returned home, Sir William lacked the resources to try again, and effectively the New Scotland colony was dead.

The fiction of New Scotland's continuation survived for a few years, and Sir William's efforts were recognised in his elevation to an earldom in 1633. As Earl of Stirling, he dabbled unsuccessfully in colonial schemes in New England before dying insolvent in 1640.

A more substantial legacy of New Scotland was the continuing use of

the name, mainly by New Englanders and mainly in its Latin form of 'Nova Scotia'.

From time to time during the rest of the 17th century, the old Scottish claim was pressed into service to justify New England attacks on the Acadian French.

From 1656, the claim was successively endorsed by the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell and by the Crown, only to be surrendered by the Treaty of Breda (1667). When Port Royal was captured by British forces in 1710, the results were more lasting. By the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), France yielded its claim to Acadia, and the colony of Nova Scotia began the continuous history that has led up to the existence today of Nova Scotia as a province of Canada. Beginning in the 1770s, its population has included many thousands of Scottish descent, although its overall claim to a Scottish cultural identity is belied by a population of ethnic diversity.

Was New Scotland a success or a failure? Historical perspective suggests it was neither. The colony's demise clearly demarcated its lack of success. Yet, while it existed, New Scotland survived as vigorously as any other European colony in north-eastern North America.

Unlike many attempts of the early 17th century, it showed no sign of imminent collapse as a result of internal weakness or external attack. That, and the eventual reassertion of a claim to Nova Scotia after the Union of 1707, constituted its legacy as an aspect of Scottish and Canadian history. ■

Where you can go to meet the Vikings



■ Many of the marauding Norsemen who raided Scotland – as re-enacted here – settled down and became farmers. Vikingar! tells their story.

Who were these people who came from the Far North? Now the Vikingar! experience tells all about them



Between the 9th and 11th centuries, the Vikings had a massive impact on the shape of Scottish society. They came, they saw, and in many cases they changed from intrusive marauders to husbands and fathers peaceful settlers, many of whom are our forefathers. Their influence has been so significant that modern Scots are almost obliged to find out more about them.

Now there is a place where they can do just that. Located in the coastal resort of Largs in Ayrshire, Vikingar! – a word meaning 'Vikings' in the Norse language – has encapsulated the 'saga of the

Vikings in Scotland'. The intriguing visitor attraction, with Viking costumed guides, takes visitors on a multi-media journey through time – from the earliest Viking raids to their defeat and end of their political reign in Scotland at the Battle of Largs in 1263.

On entering the Viking Experience, a visitor is given the opportunity to experience Norse culture through the reconstruction of a homestead in Norway. This is used to tell the story of a young Viking named Egil and depicts the typical home he would have grown up in.

A typical Viking site can be observed at close quarters and the visitor can appreciate the level of

sophistication that Vikings displayed in farming – experience that altered the way of life in many of the countries in which they settled.

Interactive games in the pre-show area of the Viking Experience facilitate the learning experience.

The Viking guides then invite guests into the dark inner sanctum of the Viking Experience to meet the Gods and the warrior maidens, the Valkyries, and the Hall of Gods.

When the Vikings first came to Scotland, they linked their fortune to their belief in the Norse gods and goddesses who, they believed, controlled different aspects of their everyday life. In the Hall of Gods



■ A Viking at peace: not as we recognise him. And a Viking at ease – without fearsome helmet – showing Norse artefacts and jewellery to young visitors.

visitors come face to face with Odn, the Viking God of War and father of all gods, and are invited walk with him into the Viking world of 700 years ago.

During a dramatic five-screen film presentation, the Vikings' trail in Scotland – from their earliest raids on the Western Isles to the end of their political reign at the Battle of Largs – is faithfully traced.

Like many Viking men, young Egil hoped that going on a raid would win him a reputation as a fierce warrior, and that his share of the plunder would bring him a better life.

On the raids, Vikings pillaged food stuffs, livestock, slaves and precious metals. They also took and treasured fine examples of Celtic art such as the magnificent brooch found at Hunterston, near Largs, which has been inscribed on the back 'Melbrigda owns this brooch' by a later Norse owner.

At the end of the tour, visitors are able to tap into a wealth of interesting Viking facts in the Hall of Knowledge where multimedia technology and other learning aids can be used to continue 'The Saga of the Vikings in Scotland'.

There are other places in Scotland where the marks of the Viking era can be traced. In the local area, one can visit the Pencil Monument in Largs, which was erected in 1912 to mark the site where most of the Battle of Largs was fought. Other sites include King's Cross Point in Arran, Rothesay Castle on the Isle of Bute, tombstones at the Old Parish Church in Govan,

Glasgow, and the holy island of Iona, where the early Christian monastery was raided by the Vikings on so many occasions – as featured in the Viking Experience film.

Interested parties can also visit museums where they can see Viking treasures, tools and weapons – such as the Scottish National Museum in

Edinburgh. Here, along with many other Norse artefacts, the Hunterston Brooch can be examined. Less than one hour from Glasgow city centre and situated on main public transport routes, Vikingar! is an illuminating experience. It is backed up by many first-class facilities within the building – such as a 25 metre four-lane swimming pool with small separate pool, suitable for toddlers. The fitness room includes the latest weight



■ What do you know? Illuminated question-and-answer boxes on Vikings.

stations, step machines, cycles, rowing machines, running track and hand-held (free) weights; the health suite includes a modern glass-fronted sauna cabin and aromatherapeutic steam room; the 500-seated Barrfields theatre and cinema with a varied programme throughout the year; and the Winter Garden Cafe

with a range of quality cuisine. Situated at the entrance to the Viking Experience is a gift and craft shop offering a range of specially selected souvenirs and gifts; a Viking-themed children's soft-play area gives a secure environment in which children can have the freedom to play among tunnels, slides, ball pits and walkways all with noise effects.

Vikingar! is also a conference facility with a distinct difference

for 20 to 500 delegates, and its 50-seater Longboat Bar enjoys views over the Firth of Clyde and beyond.

Vikingar! welcomes visitors who are physically disadvantaged, and facilities include disabled access to all parts of the building via ramps, adapted doors and lifts, wheelchair user space in Barrfields Theatre; induction loop in the auditorium of the Viking Experience; Braille transcript of the Viking Experience tour, and large print transcripts.

Those seeking further information can visit Vikingar's web site at www.vikingar.co.uk.

Also this year, Vikingar! is to be involved with the BBC History 2000 project and this web site which can be found at www.bbc.co.uk/history contains a wide range of exciting history material to which has been added details of History 2000 partners and their events.

Viking history is celebrated annually at the Largs Viking Festival. This nine-day celebration includes a re-enactment of the Battle of Largs, boat-burning, fireworks and much more. The dates for the Largs Viking Festival this year are September 2 to 9.

Contact points for those requiring any further information

**Vikingar! Greenock Road
Largs Ayrshire
KA30 8QL
Tel: 01475 689777
Fax: 01475 689444**

Marooned on ice for years – but still a hero

If his story of endurance was filmed, no-one would believe it. John Ross was a Scots pioneer with a difference

His courage was amazing, but John Ross was an explorer who became famous not so much for what he discovered as for what he didn't.

He spent nearly three years locked in the natural deep freeze of the Arctic ice fields, and lived to tell the tale. His endurance was so incredible that if a film were made about his exploits today, people would dismiss it as too far fetched. But he made it back to Scotland, and lived to a ripe old age.

John Ross was born in Stranraer in 1777, the youngest of five sons of a minister. He volunteered for the navy at the age of nine – not unusual then – and after a spell in the Napoleonic Wars, was sent to the Arctic.

The aim of the journey in 1818 was to try to find the fabled North West Passage – a sea route through the tricky passages of the north of Canada which reputedly linked the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, so opening up a new waterway for world trade.

Ross attempted to find his way through, but ran into bad luck – he was convinced that the entrance to the passage was blocked by a range of mountains. In fact, it wasn't. What he had seen was a mirage – something which was proved two years later when another Admiralty expedition, led by Lieutenant Edward Parry, sailed through the so-called mountain range and pressed on west, though it too failed to find a way right through.

Feeling his own reputation was on the line, Ross decided to mount an

expedition independently of the Admiralty. In 1829, he took a ship, the *Victory*, from London, and was accompanied on the voyage by his nephew, James Clerk Ross, and a crew of 23. They managed to sail 250 miles past Parry's furthest incursion, while at the same time carrying out valuable side expeditions and scientific experiments. But the journey stopped abruptly when his progression along

the delay did have one beneficial effect: it allowed James Clerk Ross to discover the Magnetic North Pole.

By the time the ice finally freed the ship again in August, 1831, three crew members had died of scurvy. The survivors managed to sail another four miles before once again becoming trapped in the ice, where they stayed until the following May. By then, the vessel had been trapped – with the

temperatures as low as minus 52 degrees Fahrenheit. Fortunately, Parry had also left three boats, which Ross and his remaining crew used in a bid to find another vessel to save them. They were lucky.

Just 12 days after setting off in August, 1833, they spotted the sail of a boat called the *Isabella*. Rescued by her, Ross and his men made it back to Britain in October, 1833, after spending nearly five years in the Arctic.

Despite its icebound record, the expedition's achievements were considerable. It had discovered and surveyed areas of Canada such as King William Island and the Gulf of Boothia, and had built up significant data on local wildlife. Perhaps most importantly, Ross had discovered that the so-called North West Passage, if it existed at all, was useless for trading.

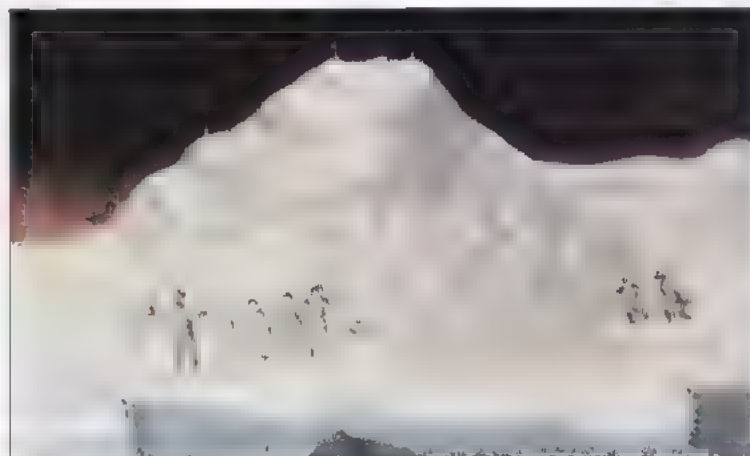
In fact, it did exist, as Roald Amundsen was to find out when he eventually sailed through it in the early 1900s. But as Ross had seen it was so narrow and dangerous, it would be impassable.

Ross was promoted in 1834, served as British Consul to Stockholm, and in 1850 made a third Arctic expedition. By then he was 73, and he was appointed a Rear Admiral on his return. He retired to his native Stranraer and died in 1856.

He will be remembered as one of the greatest Scots seafarers – and a man who even the world's worst climate could not defeat. ●



■ John Ross failed to find the North West Passage – but his achievements were remarkable.



■ We are not alone. Ross's party, seeking rescue, comes across some Eskimos.

what he thought was the passage turned out to be a dead-end inlet.

Ross decided to turn back when spring came. Unfortunately, it did not get very warm and *Victory* remained trapped in ice, where she was stuck until the following September. Even then, when she finally broke free, she managed to sail for only three miles before being trapped again. The vessel was clearly going nowhere. However,

exception of three days – for a total of almost three years.

They had suffered enough. Ross decided to abandon ship and make his way overland to safety. He knew that eight years earlier, Parry had abandoned his ship at Lancaster Sound. By the time they arrived, the vessel had gone, but her supplies were still there, allowing them to survive a fourth winter – the worst yet, with

Stopped in his tracks

Hugh Clapperton failed to find the Niger – twice – but filled in the map

A pioneering Scot of remarkable resourcefulness, Hugh Clapperton was one of the first men to open up West Africa

Born at Annan, Dumfriesshire, in 1788, Clapperton was the first European explorer to return to Britain with a first hand personal account of the area we now call northern Nigeria

He went to sea at the age of 13, joining the merchant fleet before transferring over to the Royal Navy. His talents as a navigator were quickly spotted, and he was invited to join an expedition to Africa in search of the River Niger in 1821

The expedition made its way south from Tripoli in Libya across the Sahara Desert and 18 months later found itself on the shores of Lake Chad. When his leading companion on the journey died of fever, Clapperton pressed on alone to Sokoto in Nigeria

He could not go any further because

an obstinate local ruler blocked his progress, so he travelled back to Britain without finding the Niger.

However, he had made important observations about Lake Chad and had carried out surveys which had helped to fill in the map as far as parts of the continent were concerned

The following year, Clapperton was back in Africa with a companion, Richard Lander, in a new attempt to find the source of the Niger. Starting their journey from the Bight of Benin, they once again made their way to Sokoto, where the same local Sultan once again stubbornly blocked further progress

This time, however, Clapperton was not to return. In 1827, he died of fever while still on the expedition, leaving Lander to return home and record his brave exploits in his work, 'Captain Clapperton's Last Expedition to Africa', which was published in 1830.



■ Clapperton: Blocked by a local ruler, he returned to try again.



■ Scotland in Australia: including names given by Mitchell.

He started the Scottish-names blizzard of Oz

Thomas Livingstone Mitchell did more than just open up Australia to the outside world – he also peppered the continent with a blizzard of Scottish names which remain to this day.

Mitchell, who was born near Lennoxtown, Stirlingshire, in 1792, joined the army and fought in the Peninsular War before emigrating to Australia to become Surveyor General of New South Wales.

He held this position until his death and helped to open up large tracts of the continent in New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland. On an

expedition in 1836, he discovered the junction of the Darling and Murray rivers, before making his way south through a mountain range which he called the Grampians.

He then discovered another river, which he called the Glenelg, again in memory of his native Scotland.

Despite his efforts and love of exploration, Mitchell was not always successful – it was a blow, for instance, when he failed to find a way north to the Gulf of Carpentaria.

But he was knighted for his achievements in 1839 and died at the age of 63 in 1855.

Fear is being followed by the big, crunching steps of a ghostly man mountain



■ What could it have been? 'As I walked on and the eerie crunch, crunch sounded behind me, I was seized with terror,' said Professor Norman Collie.

When a respected mountaineer told of his experience on Ben MacDhui, its Big Grey Man became a legend. But not the only one from the hills

The Big Grey Man of Ben MacDhui is probably Scotland's best-known hill ghost, and yet the man who is mainly responsible for the fame of the spectre spreading did not actually see anything.

He was Aberdeenshire-born Professor Norman Collie – respected mountaineer, a Fellow of the Royal Society and first Professor of Organic Chemistry at the University of London – who said in a speech in New Zealand that he had an odd experience on the highest mountain in the Cairngorms in 1899.

He repeated this speech at the 26th annual general meeting in

Aberdeen of the Cairngorm Club, Scotland's oldest mountaineering club, of which he was the honorary president, and a controversy arose which is with us to this day.

"I was returning for the cairn on the summit in a mist when I began to think I heard something other than merely the noise of my own footsteps," he said. "For every ten steps I took I heard a crunch, and then another crunch as if something was walking after me, but taking steps three or four times the length of my own. I said to myself: 'This is all nonsense'.

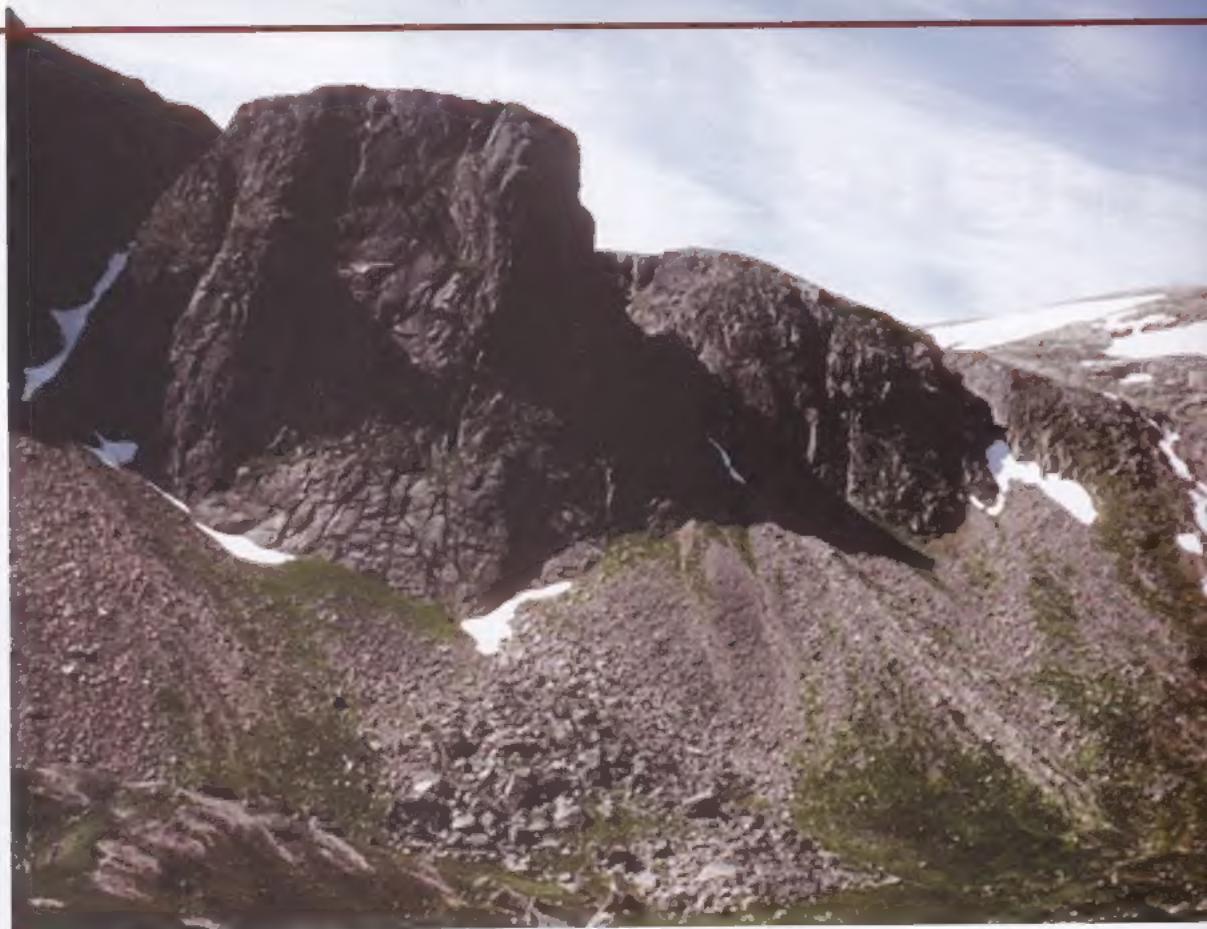
"I listened and heard it again, but could see nothing in the mist. As I

walked on and the eerie crunch, crunch sounded behind me, I was seized with terror and took to my heels, staggering blindly among the boulders for four or five miles nearly down to Rothiemurchus Forest.

"Whatever you make of it I do not know, but there is something very queer about the report of Ben MacDhui and I am going back there by the next opportunity."

Many people have puzzled over this statement. While Collie was a scientist, he also had a mild reputation of being a prankster; yet it is not likely he would play a trick at an august dinner.

The anecdote spread and Dr A M



■ Ben MacDhui is less sinister with the coming of skiers. But normal explanations for its 'queerness' do not apply.

know as Am Fear Liath Mor, and although there are no old or momentous tales of a spectre in Ben MacDhui itself, there are stories of spectres and spirits in the general area of Glen More, Loch Morlich, Loch Avon and the Lairig Ghru.

Sir Walter Scott mentions the Boda Glas (Bodach Glas) or Grey or Dark Man in his novel of the 1745 Jacobite Rising, 'Waverley', and it appeared before Highland chiefs as a prediction of death.

James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, who visited Ben MacDhui, told of a legend of a kind of supernatural mole the size of a large dog called *famh* which haunted the area. There are also legends of ghostly clan ancestors or of bards in the area.

The much-respected mountaineer, the late W H Murray, said: "That Norman Collie had a psychic experience on Ben MacDhui is (for me) certain. To ascribe the cause to Am Fear Liath Mor is, however, quite another matter."

It remains a puzzle. The normal explanations of mist enlarging real figures, or the sound of the wind sounding like voices, or temperature changes causing snow and ice to move or make sounds, do not tend to stand up because most of the people who have experienced 'something' on Ben MacDhui are experienced hill men and women and aware of these things.

This writer's theory is that when

mountains were lonely and rarely visited, perhaps some kind of psychic dimension surrounded them and, in ancient times, the people who went to them, People long ago may have had some kind of layer of psychic feeling linked to landscape which we have lost. Perhaps Collie caught a remnant of that.

Today, Ben MacDhui is a busy mountain and often combined with an ascent of Cairngorm where there are now ski-installations. Instead of silence, there are voices, laughter, noise, and the Big Grey Man has gone.

It is salutary that while the late Affleck Gray, of Pitlochry, who wrote the definitive book, *The Grey Man of Ben MacDhui; Myth or Monster*, felt there was something 'queer' about the hill, he held back from committing himself to the spectre theory.

But the Grey Man is not alone. The Himalayan climber and writer Frank Smythe was based in Scotland during the last war, teaching mountain warfare. He went on leave to Kintail, in the North-West, and decided to walk to the renowned Falls of Glomach. In his book 'The Mountain Vision', he says he entered a grassy, sun-warmed defile. He did not name it, but the areas include the Bealach an Sgairne, a name which can translate as a place where the wind sighs or screeches through rocks.

He sat down and smoked a pipe and ate his lunch, but felt the

atmosphere of the place to be oppressive. He then saw "a score or more of ragged men, women and children struggling through the pass. They looked weary and then, on the lip of the defile, men appeared and rushed down on them with spears, axes and clubs. The defile was choked with corpses".

Smythe wrote that he was not a superstitious person, but he ran away and could hear the screams. He thought he had experienced a backward glance into Highland history and appealed for other people to try to throw light on his experience, but without success.

And what of the late Colonel Jimmy Dennis who, when stalking in the Gaick area, to the east of the modern A9, saw a small brown figure by the burn which looked as if it was wearing a child's siren suit with a hood? He could see nothing through his telescope, but only with his naked eyes. After a time he lost sight of it.

He did not want to look foolish so initially told only his wife. But the next season, on a neighbouring estate, he mentioned his experience to one of the stalkers, who told him "You've seen the Sprite of Gaick".

It transpired that there was an old legend in area of tiny, fairy women who milked the deer.

Go quietly on the hills. You never know your luck...or your ill-fortune. ●

Kellas, who died on the 1921 Mount Everest reconnaissance expedition, reportedly heard of Dr. Collie's experience and contacted him, saying he and his brother had been chipping for crystals in that area when they saw a giant figure in the mist – and ran away.

That comment by Dr Kellas was passed on second-hand to wider audiences. Other climbers began to claim odd experiences of seeing figures or of sensing 'beings' alongside them and in 1943 one mountaineer who had a wartime revolver with him fired shots at a spectral figure in the storm, but apparently missed.

The Big Grey Man in Gaelic is

CROMWELL'S DEATH AND DISHONOURING



■ Cromwell's actual head (left) alongside his death mask.

Thanks to Cromwell, we are less of a nation, says biker historian David Ross



Like so many Englishmen before him, Oliver Cromwell was determined to subjugate the Kingdom of Scotland. To effect this, he built five great fortresses at Leith, Perth, Ayr, Inverlochy and Inverness. These edifices cost the best part of £100,000 each to construct – a vast sum in those days.

The fort at Inverlochy formed the basis of Fort William, the name eventually being transferred to the nearby town.

There is a remnant of the Ayr fortifications visible just in front of the Citadel Leisure Centre on the south side of the mouth of the River Ayr.

The fort at Ayr incorporated the earlier Medieval castle and the tower of St John the Baptist Church. This tower still stands in parkland at Seabank Road, between the town centre and the shore.

Probably the biggest disservice Cromwell did to Scotland was his acquisition of all the records and documentation he could lay his hands on. In his role as Lord Protector, he had this lot taken to London whence it would never return.

Much of it was put aboard a ship which sank. This was a huge loss, as it left many gaps in our nation's history, accounts of various circumstances and times, lost forever.

After all, what is a nation? What makes me a Scot like any other? It is a shared heritage, the fact that we have in



■ Despite his bitter end, Cromwell is remembered by a statue at Westminster.

common the same past and experiences. If that past is partially destroyed, it causes a weakening of that we are. This is why loss of our archives is devastating.

Although the following information has little in the way of a Scottish connection, the fact remains that, for almost a decade, Cromwell ruled Scotland, and in that sense he is important to Scotland's story.

After his death, Cromwell's body was embalmed and buried in Westminster Abbey. A plaque in the Henry VII chapel says it is 'The burial place of Oliver Cromwell 1658-1661'. But the tomb has gone, because after Charles II's restoration it was decided to dishonour Cromwell as much as possible. His body was exhumed and dragged in its shroud through London from Holborn to Tyburn, long a place of execution sited at what is now Marble Arch.

Cromwell's corpse was hung here, then beheaded. The body was buried under the gallows. The exact spot is now

the junction of Connaught Place and Connaught Square. Cromwell's head was displayed on Westminster Hall.

During James VII's reign, the head was blown down in a storm and taken home by a guard, who then sold it on as a curiosity. It changed hands a few times for ever-increasing sums of money, and was eventually given to Cromwell's old college at Cambridge.

Incredibly, it was 1960 before Cromwell's embalmed head, still in a recognisable state with the hair of the skimpy beard and moustache still visible, found its last resting place. It was buried in the chapel of Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge.

The exact spot of the burial is a secret, but a plaque at the chapel door reads: 'Near to this place was buried on 25 March 1660 the head of Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, Fellow Commoner of this College 1616-17'. ●

Scotland's Story

Anderston Quay, Glasgow, G3 8DA

Telephone: 0141-242-1493

e-mail: scotlandstory@sundaymail.co.uk

Website Address: www.scotlands-story.co.uk

Consultants

Professor Edward J Cowan, Head of Scottish History, University of Glasgow.

Professor Christopher Whatley, Head of History, University of Dundee.

Ian Nimmo, chairman.

Editor Alex MacLeod

Assistant editor Allan Burnett

Design Samantha Ramsay

Chief sub-editor Richard Wilson

Picture editor Naomi Small

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Senior editor Austin Barrett

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Group Advertising Sales Manager

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THE DEMONISED KING



The multiple-kingdom monarchy of James VII and II, with its outlying capitals in Edinburgh and Dublin, was shattered by the 'Glorious' Revolution of 1688. But how did he arrive at this bitter confrontation with William of Orange - from which he took flight? Read about this much-maligned king in Issue 26.

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